

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W
-----271217Z 010823 /41
O 271126Z APR 77
FM AMEMBASSY CAIRO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4364

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 CAIRO 7066

NODIS

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM AMBASSADOR

EO 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, EG, UR,
SUBJ: ORAL MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT SADAT TO PRESIDENT CARTER
ON SOVIET MESSAGE RE EGYPTIAN/LIBYAN INTENTIONS

REF CAIRO 7065,

1. AFTER HE HAD GIVEN ME THE TEXT OF THE SOVIET "MESSAGE"
ON EGYPTIAN/LIBYAN INTENTIONS, (REFTEL), FAHMY SAID PRES SADAT
HAD INSTRUCTED HIM ALSO TO GIVE ME AN "ORAL MESSAGE" TO
PRES CARTER SETTING FORTH GOE VIEWS ON THE IMPLICATIONS OF
THE SOVIET ACTION. SPEAKING WITHOUT NOTES, FAHMY THEN DIC-
TATED THE FOLLOWING SOMEWHAT RAMBLING MESSAGE:

2. QTE THE GOVT OF EGYPT CONSIDERS THE SOVIET MESSAGE TO BE
VERY SERIOUS AND VIEWS IT AS PART AND PARCEL OF THE SOVIET
GRAND STRATEGY IN THE MIDDLE EAST, PERSIAN GULF AND AFRICA.
SOVIET ACTIVITIES IN THESE AREAS ARE ALL PART OF A SINGLE,
INDIVISIBLE POLICY. PRES SADAT WARNED FORMER PRES FORD
AT SALZBURG ABOUT THE OBJECTIVES OF THE SOVIET STRATEGY
IN THESE AREAS, BUT THE UNITED STATES DID NOT TAKE HIS
WARNING SERIOUSLY. HOWEVER, AS WE ARE NOW WITNESSING, PRES
SADAT'S ESTIMATE WAS CORRECT.

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3. SOVIET ACTIVITIES IN ADEN, SOMALIA, ETHIOPIA, MOZAMBIQUE,
ZAIRE AND, MOST RECENTLY, IN LIBYA ARE ALL BASED ON THIS
STRATEGY, WHICH IS DIRECTED AT WEAKENING THE POSITION OF THE
WEST IN GENERAL AND THE UNITED STATES IN PARTICULAR IN
THE AREAS IN QUESTION. THIS SOVIET STRATEGY WAS PROMPTED BY
AN APPARENT NON-ACCEPTANCE BY THE USSR OF THE NEW RELATIONSHIP

BETWEEN EGYPT AND THE UNITED STATES. IN THE PAST THREE YEARS
THE UNITED STATES HAS SUCCEEDED IN KICKING THE SOVIETS OUT
AND TAKING THEIR PLACE IN EGYPT.

4. EGYPT'S PROBLEMS WITH THE SOVIET UNION ON SPARE PARTS,
ARMS, ETC., ARE NOT ONLY BILATERAL, BUT ARE PART OF A HIGHLY
POLITICAL SOVIET POSTURE IN THE MIDDLE EAST AREA AS A WHOLE.
A YEAR AGO, WHEN FOREIGN MINISTER FAHMY VISITED MOSCOW AND
MET WITH BREZHNEV, THE LATTER STATED CATEGORICALLY THAT NO ARMS
WOULD BE SENT TO KUWAIT OR IRAQ. SUBSEQUENTLY, MASSIVE SOVIET
ARMS WERE OFFERED TO IRAQ, DESPITE THE FACT THAT SOVIET UNION
AND IRAQ WERE NOT ON GOOD TERMS. MORE RECENTLY, THE SOVIETS
HAVE ENCOURAGED THE KUWAITIS TO PURCHASE ARMS FROM THEM,
DESPITE THE IRAQI/KUWAITI CONFLICT. AFTER FIFTEEN YEARS OF
REFUSAL, THE SOVIETS ALSO RECENTLY APPROACHED THE SHAH OF IRAN
TO OFFER LIMITLESS ARMS. FOR THE PAST YEAR OR MORE THE
SOVIETS HAVE BEEN POURING ARMS INTO LIBYA.

5. IN ETHIOPIA, THE UNITED STATES ALSO DID NOT TAKE
EGYPTIAN WARNINGS SERIOUSLY. GOE ASSUMES WE NOW NO LONGER HAVE
ANY DOUBTS ABOUT MENGISTU. THE SOVIETS HAVE ALSO BEEN ACTIVE
IN ANGOLA AND MOZAMBIQUE AND HAVE SIGNED A TREATY WITH
MOZAMBIQUE CONTAINING A MUTUAL ASSISTANCE CLAUSE GOING
BEYOND ANYTHING PREVIOUSLY GIVEN. WORKING THROUGH ANGOLA,
THE SOVIETS ARE ALSO PRIMARILY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE ZAIRE PROBLEM.

6. THE SUDAN IS STILL THREATENED BY QADHAFI AND MENGISTU.
PRES SADAT WISHES TO REITERATE TO PRES CARTER THAT IF THERE
IS ANY HOSTILE MOVE INTO SUDAN, HE WILL GO TO WAR IN DEFENSE
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OF THE SUDAN.
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ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W
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O 271126Z APR 77

FM AMEMBASSY CAIRO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4365

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 CAIRO 7066

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FOR THE SECRETARY FROM AMBASSADOR

7. GOE HAS PROVIDED ARMS TO SOMALIA AND TO ERITREA AND HAS URGED SAUDI ARABIA TO ASSIST THE SOMALIS. IT HAS ALSO DISCUSSED THE MATTER WITH THE FRENCH AND THE BRITISH, WHO HAVE AGREED TO HELP THE SOMALIS. FINALLY, GOE UNDERSTANDS THAT PRES SIAD BARRE IS SENDING HIS VP TO THE PRC TO DISCUSS HELP AGAINST THE SOVIETS. ALL OF THIS IS TAKING PLACE WITH THE AIM OF ENABLING THE SOMALIS TO STAND ON THEIR OWN FEET. IF THE UNITED STATES IS PREPARED TO ASSIST SOMALIS WITH ECONOMIC HELP, NOT NECESSARILY ARMS, GOE BELIEVES THE SOMALIS CAN BE GOTTEN OUT OF THE SOVIET ORBIT. IF THAT HAPPENS, THE DOMINO THEORY WILL WORK. ETHIOPIA AND OTHER SOVIET PROTEGES IN SUB SHARAN AFRICA WILL SOON FALL.

8. SO FAR AS THE SOVIET MESSAGE IS CONCERNED, GOE DOES NOT BELIEVE THIS WAS DONE WITHOUT CLOSE CONSULTATION WITH QADHAFI. IT MEANS THAT QADHAFI HAS ACCEPTED BEING A PROTEGE OF THE SOVIETS AND HAS ACCEPTED A SOVIET ROLE OF PROTECTOR. THIS IN TURN MEANS THAT THE SOVIETS ARE ARE LOOKING FOR TROUBLE. THEY ARE SEEKING TO APPOINT THEMSELVES AS PROTECTORS OF ARAB INTERESTS AND HAVE DONE SO IN A VERY THREATENING MANNER. THE LAST TWO PARAGRAPHS OF THE MESSAGE ARE A VIRTUAL ULTIMATUM.

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9. WHAT IS MORE, THE SOVIET MESSAGE FALSIFIES THE SITUATION. THEIR CHARGE THAT GOE WANTS TO TAKE OVER THE LIBYAN OIL FIELDS IS FALSE. ALTHOUGH THE EGYPTIAN ECONOMY IS IN BAD SHAPE, GOE COULD HAVE SOLVED ITS PROBLEMS IF IT HAD SMILED AT QADHAFI. IF GOE HAD ACCEPTED UNITY WITH LIBYA, IT WOULD HAVE HAD ACCESS TO THE OIL RESOURCES OF QADHAFI WITHOUT LIMIT. BUT THAT WAS NOT THE EGYPTIAN GOAL. LIBYAN OIL IS NOT IN THE EGYPTIAN SCHEME OF THINGS. THE SOVIET CHARGE DOES, HOWEVER, REVEAL THE REAL SOVIET INTENTIONS WITH RESPECT TO THE LIBYAN OIL FIELDS. THE MESSAGE ALSO SPEAKS OF QADHAFI NATIONALIZING THE OIL FIELDS. THIS IS NOT SO, SINCE IT IS WELL KNOWN THAT AMERICAN COMPANIES CONTINUE TO WORK THE FIELDS WITHOUT HINDERANCE. THE SOVIET MESSAGE ALSO SPEAKS OF LIBYA'S ROLE IN THE ARAB CAUSE. IT IGNORES THE FACT THAT QADHAFI IS THE ONLY ARAB LEADER WHO DID NOT STOP PUMPING OIL DURING AND AFTER THE OCT WAR AND ALSO SOLD IT MORE CHEAPLY THAN DID ANYONE, QADHAFI

ADDED AN EXTRA FEE BECAUSE OF SUEZ CANAL CLOSURE AND RESENTED
PRES SADAT'S REOPENING OF THE CANAL.

10. WHILE TAKING THE SOVIET MESSAGE SERIOUSLY, GOE IS NOT
WORRIED ABOUT IT. GOE WILL TURN THE TABLES ON THE SOVIETS.
WHEN A COPY OF THE SOVIET MESSAGE WAS RECEIVED, PRES SADAT
INSTRUCTED FOREIGN MINISTER FAHMY TO SUMMON THE SOVIET AMB
IN ORDER TO GIVE HIM AN ULTIMATUM ABOUT THE CONSEQUENCES OF
THE SOVIET MOVE. THE SOVIET AMB WAS ASKED TO WARN THE
SOVIET LEADERSHIP THAT THEY WILL BEAR THE CONSEQUENCES. AMB
POLYAKOV, WHILE PROFESSING TO BE UNAWARE OF THE MESSAGE,
HAD SOUGHT TO JUSTIFY THE SOVIET ACTION IN TERMS OF THE USSR'S
SUPER-POWER ROLE, ITS SPECIAL INTEREST IN THE MIDDLE
EAST, AND ITS ROLE AS A PERMANENT MEMBER OF THE UNSC. GOE HAD
REJECTED THE CLAIM THAT THIS GIVES THE SOVIETS SPECIAL
STATUS IN THE AREA.

11. IT IS THE GOE'S INTENTION TO PUBLICIZE THE SOVIET
MESSAGE AND THE EGYPTIAN RESPONSE. GOE WILL ALSO SEND A FORMAL
NOTE TO THE ARAB LEAGUE ANALYZING THE SOVIET PHILOSOPHY.

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IT WILL UNCOVER QADHAFI AS THE SOVIET PUPPET THAT HE IS.
THIS IS THE FIRST TIME THAT THE SOVIETS HAVE DONE SOMETHING
LIKE THIS IN THE MIDDLE EAST AREA. THEY ARE SUPPORTING
QADHAFI, WHO HAS SENT HIS AGENTS TO EGYPT TO PLANT BOMBS
AND EXPLOSIVES WITH WHICH TO KILL EGYPTIAN PEOPLE.

12. IF NO SATISFACTORY SOVIET RESPONSE IS RECEIVED, THE SOVIET
AMB HAD BEEN TOLD THAT GOE WILL DISMISS THE SOVIET UNION FROM
GENEVA. GOE WILL NOT ATTEND IF THE SOVIETS ARE THERE.
SINCE THE SOVIETS ARE ACTING AS AN ENEMY OF EGYPT, THEY WILL
HAVE FORFEITED THEIR RAISON D'ETRE TO BE A MEDIATOR AT GENEVA.

13. COMMENT BY SEPTTEL.
EILTS

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
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Concepts: SPHERE OF INFLUENCE, FOREIGN RELATIONS, DIPLOMATIC COMMUNICATIONS, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION, DIPLOMATIC PROTESTS, CAT-B
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Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
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Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977CAIRO07066
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
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Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Reference: 77 CAIRO 7065
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 21-Jan-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2684081
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: IRAL MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT SADAT TO PRESIDENT CARTER ON SOVIET MESSAGE RE EGYPTIAN/LIBYAN INTENTIONS
TAGS: PFOR, PREL, LY, XF, EG, UR, US, (SADAT, ANWAR), (CARTER, JIMMY)
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/415dc19c-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009